5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

576 across the door from the last smoker. This man smokes
276 and passes it to the one on his left, and so it goes on until it reaches the host again. A person entering a lodge where people are smoking must not pass in front of them, that is, between the smokers and the fire.

626 A solemn form of affirmation, the equivalent of the civil-
276 ized oath, is connected with smoking, which, as is well known,
782 is with many tribes of Indians a sacred ceremony. If a man sitting in a lodge tells his companions some very improbable story, something that they find it very hard to believe, and they want to test him, to see if he is really telling the truth, the pipe is given to a medicine man, who paints the stem red and prays over it, asking that if the man's story is true he may have long life, but if it is false his life may end in a short time. The pipe is then filled and lighted, and passed to the man, who has seen and overheard what has been done and said. The medicine man says to him: "Accept this pipe, but remember that, if you smoke, your story must be as sure as that there is a hole through this pipe, and as straight as the hole through this stem. So your life shall be long and you shall survive, but if you have spoken falsely your days are counted." The man may refuse the pipe, saying, "I have told you the truth; it is useless to smoke this pipe." If he declines to smoke, no one believes what he has said; he is looked upon as having lied. If, however, he takes the pipe and smokes, every one believes him. It is the most solemn form of oath. The Blackfoot pipes are usually made of black or green slate or sandstone.

861 The Blackfeet do not whip their children, but still they are not without some training. Children must be taught, or they will not know anything; if they do not know anything, they will have no sense; and if they have no sense they will not know how to act. They are instructed in manners, as well as in other more general and more important matters.

[867] If a number of boys were in a lodge where older people

5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

were sitting, very likely the young people would be talking and laughing about their own concerns, and making so much noise that the elders could say nothing. If this continued too long, one of the older men would be likely to get up and go out and get a long stick and bring it in with him. When he had seated himself, he would hold it up, so that the children could see it and would repeat a cautionary formula, "I will give you gum!" This was a warning to them to make less noise, and was always heeded — for a time. After a little, however, the boys might forget and begin to chatter again, and presently the man, without further warning, would reach over and rap one of them on the head with the stick, when quiet would again be had for a time.

In the same way, in winter, when the lodge was full of old and young people, and through lack of attention the fire died down, some older person would call out, "Look out for the skunk!" which would be a warning to the boys to put some sticks on the fire. If this was not done at once, the man who had called out might throw a stick of wood across the lodge into the group of children, hitting and hurting one or more of them. It was taught also that, if, when young and old were in the lodge and the fire had burned low, an older person were to lay the unburned ends of the sticks upon the fire, all the children in the lodge would have the scab, or itch. So, at the call "Look out for the scab!" some child would always jump to the fire, and lay up the sticks.

There were various ways of teaching and training the children. Men would make long speeches to groups of boys, playing in the camps, telling them what they ought to do to be successful in life. They would point out to them that to accomplish anything they must be brave and untiring in war; that long life was not desirable; that the old people always had a hard time, were given the worst side of the lodge and generally neglected; that when the camp was moved they suffered from cold; that their sight was dim, so

5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

867 861 [888] that they could not see far; that their teeth were gone, so that they could not chew their food. Only discomfort and misery await the old. Much better, while the body is strong and in its prime, while the sight is clear, the teeth sound, and the hair still black and long, to die in battle fighting bravely. The example of successful warriors would be held up to them, and the boys urged to emulate their brave deeds. To such advice some boys would listen, while others would not heed it.

[577] The girls also were instructed. All Indians like to see women more or less sober and serious-minded, not giggling all the time, not silly. A Blackfoot man who had two or three girls would, as they grew large, often talk to [237] them and give them good advice. After watching them, and taking the measure of their characters, he would one day get a buffalo's front foot and ornament it fantastically with feathers. When the time came, he would call one of his daughters to him and say to her: "Now I wish you to stand here in front of me and look me straight in the eye without laughing. No matter what I may do, do not laugh." Then he would sing a funny song, shaking the foot in the girl's face in time to the song, and looking her steadily in the eye. Very likely before he had finished, she would begin to giggle. If she did this, the father would stop singing and tell her to finish laughing; and when she was serious again, he would again warn her not to laugh, and then would repeat his song. This time perhaps she would not laugh while he was singing. He would go through with this same performance before all his daughters. To such as seemed to have the steadiest characters, he would give good advice. He would talk to each girl of the duties of a woman's life and warn her against the dangers which she might expect to meet.

At the time of the Medicine Lodge, he would take her to the lodge and point out to her the Medicine Lodge woman.

5: Grinnell Q,T-5 (ca.1888) 1962
NF6 Blackfoot NF6

He would say: "There is a good woman. She has built this Medicine Lodge, and is greatly honored and respected by all the people. Once she was a girl just like you; and you, if you are good and live a pure life, may some day be as great as she is now. Remember this, and try to live a worthy life."

At the time of the Medicine Lodge, the boys in the camp also gathered to see the young men count their *coups*. A man would get up, holding in one hand a bundle of small sticks, and, taking one stick from the bundle, he would recount some brave deed, throwing away a stick as he completed the narrative of each *coup*, until the sticks were all gone, when he sat down, and another man stood up to begin his recital. As the boys saw and heard all this, and saw how respected those men were who had done the most and bravest things, they said to themselves, "That man was once a boy like us, and we, if we have strong hearts, may do as much as he has done." So even the very small boys used often to steal off from the camp, and follow war parties. Often they went without the knowledge of their parents, and poorly provided, without food or extra moccasins. They would get to the enemy's camp, watch the ways of the young men, and so learn about going to war, how to act when on the war trail so as to be successful. Also they came to know the country.

The Blackfeet men often went off by themselves to fast and dream for power. By no means every one did this, and, of those who attempted it, only a few endured to the end, — that is, fasted the whole four days, — and obtained the help sought. The attempt was not usually made by young boys before they had gone on their first war journey. It was often undertaken by men who were quite mature. Those who underwent this suffering were obliged to abstain from food or drink for four days and four nights, resting for two nights on the right side, and for two nights on the left. It

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NP6 Blackfoot NP6

yields up to ten times the income that can be gained from the usual grazing lease contracts. Henry lives more by brains than brawn. Such an operation leaves him free for other ventures—to serve on the council, to hold an agency job, to promote a new venture for the tribe, or to work on a new business deal of his own. Henry is an administrator, a promoter, an entrepreneur.

Henry owns one of the better homes in Browning. The house is well maintained, the large lawn is mowed regularly. Shade trees, shrubs and flowers are numerous. The house is well furnished with overstuffed furniture, a coffee table, bookcases, television, radio, a hi-fi set, refrigerator, freezer, electric stove, and central heat—all the comforts of middle-class city dweller's home. Each of these things, by itself, would not set Henry apart from his fellow tribal members. Other people have well-maintained houses; other have lawns, trees and flowers. Many have new cars like Henry's. It is the total combination of these things, coupled with his sophistication and more widely ranging interests and economic operations, that differentiates Henry from the others.

As I got to know Henry better, I became aware of certain values, drives, and attitudes that were unlike those of the other people I have described. Henry is interested in the old Indian culture, but his knowledge of this has been acquired intellectually, through books and studied observation. He is ¼ Indian but has had nothing of Indian life transmitted to him through his home environment, childhood training, or other experience. He remained apart from the Indian behavior expressed by friends and schoolmates during the years he had attended a small country school. In the Browning High School he mixed with people more like himself. He was then among the "more Indian" of the pupils but does not appear to have recognized the things that made them different from him and his friends. The segregation between his friends and others had not been a conscious act. It just "came about." He went away to college and found work in Great Falls after dropping out. Following this came World War II and his years in the service, after which he settled in San Francisco for a year.

Henry returned home to help his brother set up a program for the use of the family lands and while doing this became involved in the problems of Indian land management. At this time he became aware of the plight of the large majority of the reservation residents. He had found a new goal for himself. He bought his house and stayed in Browning to pursue his interest in Indian affairs and to try to better the conditions of the Indian people. Neither he nor I could separate the motives that spurred this interest. He is genuinely involved in this cause and at the same time the cause offers an opportunity for personal achievement—in politics, in tribal affairs, and in economic ventures. It suffices that Henry has found a goal toward which he can apply his particular interests, abilities, and drives.

In this work he often finds himself teamed with Raymond Black Plume, and it was by contrasting these two men and their approach to and understanding of the problems of the Indian that I became aware of other characteristics of Henry Rogers. Both men have a genetic tie back into the traditional Blackfeet culture. Raymond, however, has learned what he knows of it by growing up with it; Henry has learned of it by study in later life. Raymond grew up under conditions that exposed him to two sets of traditions, ideals, goals, attitudes, and beliefs. He has had to select and adjust, to reconcile and accommodate, to give and take

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

from what he encounters as he formulates his goals and adopts means to achieve them. Henry, on the other hand, has been socialized to the white pattern. His new dedication to the solution of Indian problems has awakened an interest in Indian traditions. He learns what he can of Indian ways, but has no need to internalize these, or to accommodate to them in his everyday life. Raymond's goal is to make a life by combining what he finds to be the best of both the white and Indian traditions. Henry, whether he realizes it or not, works toward changing the Indian to greater acceptance of white ways. He would retain the symbols and ritual of "being an Indian," but spoke of providing steady work and better education as the bases of change. If these could be gained, he believes, the people would correct other deficiencies. Raymond, on the other hand, emphasizes better housing and improving sanitation first, then jobs and education. To Henry, better homes and sanitation would follow from more jobs and education. Raymond supports the preservation of Indian ways because they have a meaning for him—they are a part of his identity. Henry supports these same things because he feels that the Indian children need the knowledge of their cultural heritage as a psychological support for their feelings of self-worth as they learn to live in the modern world—they need to know that they are not just the "descendants of heathen savages." He wants to set up formal elective courses in the schools to teach Blackfeet history and culture. Raymond, in the meantime, teaches these things to his children and their friends as a part of their childhood training, by story and example. One man is involved objectively and rationally; the other, more subjectively and emotionally.

Henry, because of his experience, has different values and attitudes that have not been changed by intellectual understanding of Indian problems. Two incidents I observed seem to support this. Once during a discussion of housing conditions on Moccasin Flat, Henry expressed the wish that he could get the council to make an appropriation to buy grass and flower seed to give to all the householders in that area. If the council would do this and encourage the people to plant the seeds, he thought, it would make quite a difference in the appearance of the neighborhood and should help get the people interested in the improvement of their homes and yards. I do not think that Raymond would support such a plan. He has neither lawn nor garden; other problems are more pressing in his eyes, other needs more important.

The second incident occurred at a public gathering that I attended with Henry and some of his relatives. A small full-blood boy came up to play with Henry's six-year-old niece. The two children chattered away together, but their play was halted when it began to involve physical contact. A slightly older niece broke up the play remarking: "You can't let those full-blood children touch you. They are dirty and have germs." This reveals a difference in attitudes toward cleanliness and health that reflects a social distance between some members of the reservation population. These are differences in attitudes based on dissimilar backgrounds and experience and in no way raise a question about the sincerity of Henry's concern about Indian welfare. He sees things from one perspective, a viewpoint that might be shared with some of the men I have described, but undoubtedly at odds with the point of view of Buffalo Heart, Arrowhead and Black Plume.

I have shown some of the kinds of people I met on the Blackfeet reserva-

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Membership in one or more of these organizations created loyalties that cut across the ties of kinship and band affiliation, and helped to contribute to tribal solidarity. In other words, a person identified first with his kinsmen and with his band, but later established additional and potentially conflicting ties of loyalty by marrying someone from another band and by membership in a society that drew its members from many bands.

Band and tribal leadership was not inherited but open to all who could command a following. A band headman gained a position of influence by displaying the qualities (see below) valued in his society and by his continued exercise of these attributes. His influence depended upon his power to persuade others, and the support of many followers increased this ability. He conferred with family heads and all decisions were reached by mutual agreement.

Band leaders formed a council during the tribal encampment and one of them, by election or selection, came to be considered the chief of the tribe. The chief had no institutionalized authority and little disciplining power. His chiefly functions were to guide the council to agreement and to mediate in cases of conflict and uncertainty.

There were no formalized institutions for social control except for the policing duties of the associations under special regulations put into effect at the summer encampment. Conflict was first of all a matter between individuals, then a concern of the families and finally of the bands. The delinquent person was cautioned, ridiculed, gossiped about, and shamed into conformity. Ostracism and violence were the ultimate penalties within the band, but usually gossip and shame served to restore order. Boys and girls growing up in Piegan society were urged to achieve the ideals of that society. Boys were told to be brave, to be good fighters, able to defend themselves against their peers and to protect younger children. They were praised for skills and daring, even for sexual exploits. Girls were urged to be quiet, dutiful, sober, hard-working, and to protect their virginity.[1] Both were rewarded with praise when they achieved, and punished with sarcasm and gossiped about when they misbehaved or failed. These sanctions contributed to a developing concern with their own identity and to a strong sense of shame, and such concerns in turn gave added force to these mechanisms of social control. Gossip and shame were also used to curb intratribal conflicts among adults. A cluster of tepees made an ideal setting for effective ridicule. Wissler (1911:24) describes a process of "formal ridicule" that was used to curb "mild persistent misconduct." When the people were quietly settled in of an evening, a headman would call out to a neighbor asking him if he had heard about that silly fellow two tepees down who had been mistreating his wife? Men in other tepees would join in telling what they thought of the man and his behavior, all to the discomfort of the victim and the enjoyment of everyone else. Sarcasm, ridicule, and the accompanying laughter, added up to an evening of entertainment for all but the victim, who was soon highly motivated to mend his ways.

[1] The double standard in ideal sexual relations set up some strains; in order for one sex to achieve the other had to fall short of the ideal. I gather from the literature that there was a mix of failure and success in the attainment of these ideals on the part of both boys and girls (Ewers 1958:98).

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

bed." Later they were sent to school in Canada. Both his parents and the school stressed the values of hard work, honesty, thrift, and education, and this man and his wife have been guided by these principles in the raising of their own children.

This case represents an abrupt break in the continuity of socialization and is an example of one way by which a full-blood family can move from Indian to white orientation. Missionary and governmental attempts to gain the same result by removing Indian children from their parental homes and into boarding schools failed more often than not. Perhaps the change occurred in this case because the parents had made the choice; they changed their own living style, and withdrew from contact with many of their past kin and social ties. They further insured the change by providing the tutor and the schooling that gave the children the experiences the parents were unable to supply, that prepared them for a way of life so different from what the parents had known.

Other paths to white-orientation are discernible in the life stories of some mixed-bloods. Oscar Swanson is 1/16 Blackfeet and his paternal grandfather was an immigrant from Sweden who came into Montana in the late 1890s as an employee of the railroad. He married a mixed-blood woman and they built a successful cattle ranch. Oscar's father was raised on the ranch and evidently learned very little of the Blackfeet culture from his mother. This seems to have been a common pattern in such marriages, even where the mother was a full-blood. The man was boss, he set the goals for the family and the Indian wife supported these. In some cases the wives were the driving force that made their white husbands successful. Oscar's mother was the daughter of a white family that had come from the midwest to homestead just east of the reservation. She and Oscar's father had gone to school together and were married soon after their eighth grade graduation. These two continued the ranch operation and raised their children in the way of life they both knew. Consequently, Indian traditions, language, and beliefs are strange to Oscar. He is one of the "Indians by technicality" who qualifies for tribal membership because his great-grandmother was a Blackfeet, and he resides on the reservation. Like Robert Thompson, described earlier, he feels that being part Indian has had little effect on him; life would have been much the same if he had been born and raised just off the reservation by white parents. His children, now 1/32 Blackfeet, continue in the patterns of socialization established by their parents and grandparents, yet remain as members of the tribe because they were born prior to the restrictive amendment to the tribal constitution.

Many of the white-oriented members of the tribe are from similar background, but the variations are interesting and show the international influences that have affected reservation life. Anthony Garceau, an elderly cattleman, was the son of mixed-blood parents. His paternal grandfather was a French fur trapper who married a Canadian Cree girl. Their only son, Anthony's father, was raised in a trading post. He went to school for a few years, worked for the trader for a time and then started ranching in southern Saskatchewan. Anthony's mother was born at Fort Benton, the daughter of a Piegan girl who had married another French immigrant fur trader. Her mother died when she was a child, so her father sent her to a convent in Winnipeg where she was raised and educated. At about the age of eighteen she visited friends in Saskatchewan where she met and married

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

177 563 took, to participate in Indian-oriented activities and to learn from their stepfather and his friends of Indian traditions. The two people I knew had learned the language and established recognized positions within the Indian-oriented society. They work with the Indians, dance with them, and often play a part in the rituals, yet, in balance, remain white-oriented in belief, values, and life-style. Such people are effective mediators between the two divisions and able interpreters of the Indian to the whites.

The experiences of many other mixed-blood families parallel in general those that I have described. They begin with the marriage of one white and one Indian parent who train their children to white ways. There are numerous variations in the details of subsequent marriages and experiences: children in the second generation frequently married mixed-blood spouses whose background was similar to their own instead of continuing a series of marriages to whites, as was done in the cases cited. The occupations chosen and the relative success or failure of these differed widely too. They share one basic element, however, over several generations the socialization patterns have been those of the dominant society and this has produced white-oriented tribal members.

Socialization to Indian-Orientation

177 867 The main avenue to present-day Indian-orientation has been the continuity of socialization to traditional ways modified by the attempts of the parents in each generation to cope with changing conditions and by each person's experiences with school, church, agency, and neighbors. Typical family histories are hard to find. Indian-oriented people were faced with many more options than the white-oriented. White-oriented families knew and were committed to the goals of financial independence; they were familiar with and supported what was taught in the schools and churches and knew what farming, ranching and business were all about. Most of the Indian-oriented, on the other hand, were from families where the things the parents and grandparents knew and understood did not fit the times. People in each generation learned bits and pieces of two traditions and had to learn which behavior, old or new, was appropriate depending on the circumstances. They were involved in the experiments with new subsistence techniques, in experiments that more often than not failed to produce a reliable and meaningful economic base for family and personal development. The following cases can only suggest some themes common to the backgrounds of the Indian-oriented people.

James Red Robe was born to full-blood parents in 1920. His childhood memories are of living in a cabin on Little Badger Creek, where his parents were raising potatoes, vegetables, chicken, and sheep under Agent Campbell's "Five Year Plan." He and his brothers and sisters were raised here and completed the eighth grade in the neighborhood school where they learned to speak and read English.

James' father, Harry Red Robe, and his mother were both born in 1890, and had lived through the trials of readaptation after the end of the buffalo days. Both parents became Catholics and had a few years of sporadic schooling, but

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

gained most of their knowledge from what their own parents knew and taught them, plus what they learned by living through the years of change. Harry got his name when he was registered on the agency ration rolls. Here Red Robe found that the name he had paid an old medicine man to give his son was not important. The encounter with the agency roll clerk is not hard to imagine: Clerk to interpreter—"He is his son and a Christian. We have to give him a Christian surname. No one can pronounce the old man's name; what does it mean in English? Red Robe? All right tell him that his name is now Red Robe and his son will be called Harry Red Robe. We'll have to name the rest of the family too."

Harry tried and failed at farming and ranching in turn as many others did, but managed to keep his family alive and together with what he raised, supplemented by wage work on ranches, irrigation canal construction and by drawing rations when all else failed. The best days, according to James, were those that came after his father had quit ranching and devoted his time to raising horses, visiting, taking part in Indian social and ritual activities, interrupting these every now and then to work for the ranchers who were leasing his land. James remembers all the meetings, dances and ritual occasions. Both he and his father belonged to the Slick Feet, a society to which most of the men in the neighborhood, even a couple of white men, belonged. The "real" members, according to James, were the Indian men who had "paid" to get in. People came from all around when the society sponsored a dance. They camped along the creek, feasted, danced and had give-aways. "Everything was horses in those days, only a few people had cars. I can remember times when men brought unbroken horses right into the hall and gave them away."

James worked on his uncle's ranch and began to build a herd of his own using loan cattle. He was just getting a good start, he said, when he was called into the service during World War II. No one would care for his stock so he returned the loan cattle and sold the surplus. Since the war he has worked for wages at whatever he can find to do. He married a girl from a similar background. She works hard to raise their children and to maintain a home on what James brings in supplemented with what the older children can earn, help from kinsmen, and welfare payments during the winter.

James is Indian-oriented—he remembers and values what he learned about Indian ways from his parents and friends. He has been cured several times by an old man and has seen others cured as well. He has been present at bundle openings and participated in the Slick Feet rituals. "I didn't used to believe all that stuff, but after the cures I changed my mind." He insisted, however, that his children were good Catholics, and that he is the only one in his own family that still believes in some of the old Indian religion. I am unable to predict the orientation that will be taken by his children. He says that they do not speak Blackfeet and know nothing about the traditions. They do not take part in Indian social activities. On the other hand the people the children see most frequently are Indian-oriented and their own friends are the children of Indian-oriented families. James could give me no ides about what goals he had in mind for them.

Edward Chief's Son told a generally similar story except that his forebears had been among the leading families of Blackfeet society. His grandfather and

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

[177] father had managed to accumulate a little more, and build a larger following of kin and friends than Harry Red Robe had been able to do. Both of his grandfathers had been medicine men, bundle owners, and ritualists. None of them had been band chiefs, but had gained names as men of note within their bands.

[177] [86] Edward said that both of his parents were raised as Catholics and both had gone to about the fourth grade in school. They spoke some English but the Blackfeet language was used in the home while Edward and his brother and sisters were growing up. Edward told me little of his father's work experience. He was one of the "ranchers" who had ended up leasing his trust lands to other ranchers. The father, while nominally a Catholic, was also a bundle owner, curer, and ritualist who had sponsored a Sun Dance in which Edward and his brother had taken part. The children heard old stories, tales, and legends from their father and his friends during many an evening; they went with their parents to visit friends and relatives, to bundle openings, song services, and society dances. He learned to dance and sing and was taught much of the ritual. The father taught his children through story, example, and experience to appreciate Indian ways.

[177] Edward has had more experience with the outside world than James. He served longer in the army and was sent overseas during World War II. He married soon after the war and has maintained his family on the lease money from his own and inherited trust lands, irregular wage labor on the reservation and, in past years, by traveling out of state with his family to work in the hop, apple, and potato harvests. In school he participated in sports and 4-H work, and he is presently an active member of the American Legion. He is a member and a leader in one of the Indian societies and frequently sings with one of the song groups.

This man is not much more secure financially than James, but he has more self-assurance and an established role among the Indian-oriented segment of the community. Some of the difference may stem from the relative social standing of their respective parents and the expectations that followed from this. Edward [86] said, "I know I'm a full-blood and like to keep the old things alive." Unlike James, he teaches these things to his children and encourages them to learn to dance and to take part in Indian social activities. I would predict that they will be Indian-oriented when they grow up.

Raymond Black Plume's background was similar to that of Edward. He too is descended from leading men on both sides of the family, but he and others like him often appear to be younger children of large families who are singled out, for reasons not clear to me, for more education. It may be that they showed greater interest and could be allowed more time away from subsistence chores. Raymond did well in school, and completed high school where he was active in sports and Boy Scout work. One of his teachers took an interest in him and saw to it that he was included in several trips to West Coast cities. The teacher encouraged him to continue his education and helped him win a scholarship that supported him through one year of college. Raymond did not continue with college work, but he had acquired a proficiency in English and the social experience with white people than enables him to be an effective spokesman for the Indian-[86] oriented group in the council and in national Indian organizations. Raymond, too, values his Indian heritage and, with the support of his wife, teaches his children the "best of the old and the best of the new."

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

The Indian-oriented group includes mixed-bloods too. Several people registered as ⅞, ¾, and ⅜ Blackfeet include an English or French trader or trapper in their genealogies. In these cases, however, whether married or not, the white grand- or great-grandparent either died or left his family when the children were very young. The mother returned to her family where she and her kinsmen raised the children in traditional ways. These children usually married full-bloods and socialized their children to be Indian-oriented. People with these backgrounds are essentially Indians who happen to have had a white grandfather or great-grandfather. The white man did not remain as a guide or model to teach his descendants anything about white culture.

Not all men and women from such backgrounds end up as Indian-oriented. At each generation there have been those who turned to the new and tended to forget or failed to learn much of Indian culture. Some left the reservation and became assimilated, some remained on the reservation as white-oriented, but many others who made such a break, often as they approached middle age, have either rejected the white world or felt rejected by it and returned to resume or relearn the old and now more highly valued Indian cultural patterns.

Analysis

These few examples of socialization experience leading to one or the other cultural orientation seem to show some common features. Parents teach their children what they know and believe. Where a parent was white-oriented and remained to direct the training of his children, or provided a teacher and model to the same end, the children tended to become white-oriented. Bruner (1956: 608–609) considered the presence of a "white model" to have been an important factor in the assimilation of the Mandan Indians. Where the experience of the parents, what they knew and believed, was from the Indian culture, this was transmitted to the children. Where the parents seem uncertain about what their children should be, as James now is, the next generation may be ill-prepared for a place in either group unless their peers, a teacher, or some elder provides a model or guidance that will give the children goals they now appear to lack.

These examples show, too, the complexity of the processes that underlie the present social diversity. The assimilation model held in the minds of administrators, priests, ministers, and teachers appears to have been one in which an Indian couple raised their children as Indians, the school and church changed or altered these children toward assimilation goals, and these upon becoming parents, moved their children even further toward that assimilation. Such a progression has occurred and some present tribal members are white-oriented because their family histories have followed such a course, but many other paths have been followed. Some tribal members are white-oriented because they were raised in families where there had been few or no traits of Indian culture to transmit, others had moved in one or two generations from Indian cultural backgrounds to a white-oriented life style and commitment. Other tribal members are Indian-oriented because members of their families have resisted assimilation, have sought to retain some things from the past even as they accepted some aspects of white culture. There are other

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

for future economic independence. Compared to the Indian-oriented, the white-oriented persons are more concerned about the education and future of their children; they encourage them to go on to college, or to get other training beyond high school. They give more attention to improving their homes, and feel the need to buy and maintain furniture, appliances, equipment, and automobiles. They early encourage their children to take on responsibility for chores, to work and to plan for their future. They cannot understand how anyone could think and act otherwise, unless they are "lazy and immoral."

The values expressed in the interviews and observations are similar, in kind, to those commonly attributed to middle-class Americans. The emphasis upon and appreciation of work, self-dependence, individualism, and acquisitiveness noted in the above quotations, and the additional characteristics of concern for education and for the future, are all recognized, under one name or another, in the social science studies of American values.

In one such study, Williams, a sociologist, recognizes the difficulty of isolating a common set of values for a large, complex, and heterogeneous society (Williams 1970:450), but finds support for fourteen major "value orientations," which are "certain dominant themes [abstracted] from the many important regional, class, and other intracultural variations" (Williams 1970:452–453).

Work is mentioned both as a valued means to other ends, and as an end in itself, and is subsumed as one aspect of the "Activity and Work" orientation. Activity is stressed and, according to Williams, ". . . it is no accident that business so characteristic of the culture can also be spelled 'busy-ness.'" (Williams 1970:458–461). Self-dependence and individualism are included as constituents of an orientation called "Individual Personality": "to be a person is to be independent, responsible, and self respecting, and thereby to be worthy of concern and respect in one's own right" (Williams 1970:495). The emphasis upon acquisitiveness is included in the "Material Comfort" orientation; a condition that "is highly approved and sought after." The material comfort orientation, according to Williams, does not reveal the "specific values . . . involved," which appear to be complexly interwoven in the idea of the "American Standard of Living" with its

> undertones and overtones of meanings—from nationalistic identification, to symbols of success, competence, and power and from a token of moral excellence to something very close to a terminal goal at the level of hedonistic gratification (Williams 1970:469–470).

At this level of analysis it would appear safe to assume that the value orientations of the white-oriented sub-culture are broadly similar to the values of the general American public. They are consistent with the economic, social and cultural life of the nation. The individual ideals of success, prestige, and higher status, achievable through the expression of these valued characteristics are considered contributory to the progress of the country. These values are a part of the complex American culture, and are linked with expectations that success will follow upon their practice. The white-oriented Blackfeet have learned these expectations through experience and example.

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

tives. Children are wanted, loved but not coddled; no elaborate concern is expressed when they get bumps. Injuries are cared for, assurances given, and then everybody's attention turns to other things.

Babies and young children go wherever their parents go, with little concern shown about feeding and sleeping schedules. Children are at most public gatherings and play about quite freely regardless of the occasion. At one political rally I was sitting behind a young couple who were letting their son play with his father's keys. The rattling of the keys often made it hard to hear what was said, but nobody objected. Several times the keys fell to the floor with a loud clatter. I thought, hopefully, that that would end the game, but each time the father picked up the keys and gave them back to his son. I interpreted this to mean that the child's interests were as important as anyone else's.

A mother might suggest several times that her child share a toy with another, but the matter is dropped if the child is persistent in refusing. Children make many such decisions for themselves, because it is their right to do so. If they get too far out of line they will be ridiculed. This attitude continues throughout their lives. A school official told me about his frustration when a bright young student decided, against his urging, not to go to college. The boy's father was easily convinced and offered to push the case with his son, but returned several days later to report that he had tried. His son had said no, he did not want to go. That ended the matter. White-oriented men reported that their fathers rarely took no for an answer.

Present-day Indian-oriented people still have the strong emotional commitment to their name and self-image that was an attribute of the Blackfeet in the horse and buffalo days. Indian and white informants alike mention jealousy as a strong Indian personality trait and blame this for the inability of the Indian-oriented group to unite in support of any specific program. This self-concern perpetuates shame and gossip as powerful agents of social control. Other contrasting interpretations of individualism become apparent in later descriptions of the requisites for status within the Indian-oriented group.

Bravery, once manifest in war, hunting, and horse raiding, remains a valued characteristic. Ewers noted this in Blackfeet patriotism and their response to World Wars I and II. Many young men enlisted, the relatives of many honored them at a feast, and old men sang war songs and prayed for their success (Ewers 1955:322; 1958:324). Blackfeet continue to serve in our overseas conflicts. But in modern life the opportunities for achieving distinction by the regular exhibition of bravery are limited. This quality contributes to success in occasional fights, sports, and rodeos, and in some kinds of employment—the ranch hand and the fire fighter often have their bravery tested. But it is no longer a chief requisite for economic and social achievement. Other attributes are given greater recognition.

Skill is important today. Because Indian identification is the goal, abilities that contribute to this end are valued by the Indian-oriented; dancing, singing, art, crafts, and oratorical skills are recognized as important to the expression of ethnic identity. Several women are well known for their leather and beading work; the Blackfeet Art Association furthers the work of many tutored and untutored wood carvers and painters.

6: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1967) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

to the development of an increasingly viable and capable group of community leaders. This is my greatest source of optimism. The Blackfeet have never lacked for active and intelligent leaders and they have had years of experience in practical politics. The heartening factor has been the trend to a broader political base, increased autonomy of decision, and the greater participation by more of the community in political and social action. With each passing generation those who have taken leadership roles have had more education and more experience with the outside world than those who preceded them. Tribal members play leading roles in national Indian organizations. They have in the past and continue to serve in the state legislature and senate. There were Blackfeet at Alcatraz. More youth are going to college and some of these are talking of returning to the reservation to play a part in solving local problems. The tribal council and its committees has always provided a good training ground for leadership. To this has been added the Community Action Programs and other O.E.O. sponsored activities. The Browning Industrial Development Corporation and the Housing Authority, both provide opportunities for leadership training and participation for more people. Some of the O.E.O. programs are reminiscent of the old C.C.C. programs that provided short range income that was a help for people when they needed it, but had few long range economic benefits. The Community Action Programs, however, appeal to me most because they are involving young and old and most of them are centered in the community. The workers involved get to know their neighbors, learn of the community problems and what resources are available to help solve them. Even youngsters out cleaning up vacant lots are doing something with their neighbors for the community. They are learning about organization and practical politics—knowledge that should stand them in good stead whatever the future brings. The faults of these programs and organizations are the faults of all of us, as are the strengths. The Blackfeet are becoming increasingly able to run their own affairs with less governmental paternalism.

That last sentence raises the very sensitive issue of termination. This is a very sticky problem, too complicated to elaborate on here. I will side with those who oppose it for the following reasons. I agree with those tribal members who fear political domination by the county and state if the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the special relationships between tribe and the federal government were terminated. First, land would be lost rapidly if trust restrictions were removed. It is of course every citizen's right to buy and sell his property, but too many Indian owners still are too inexperienced in financial matters to protect their own interests in even the most honest land transactions or to benefit by converting land to cash. Secondly, much reservation land would be lost if it was removed from trust status and put on the tax rolls at a time when too few Indian owners make enough money from their land to meet taxes. Thirdly, the Indians feel that the present climate of discrimination in off-reservation communities would result in loss of services, poorer services, and unfair treatment in local and state courts is present federal and tribal programs were turned over to county and state. I think their fears are well founded.

The other side of the argument has some merit too. B.I.A. programs have often been overprotective, fostering overdependency and expectations of paternal-

Lazy Boy, the oldest living Piegan a decade ago, followed this traditional custom in naming my younger daughter. He gave her the name Many-Steals-Horses-Woman, explaining that as a young man he had been very successful in capturing horses from enemy camps so he thought this name would bring her good fortune in whatever she tried to do.

Elaborate cradles were luxury items, uncommon among the Blackfeet a century ago. When walking or riding on horseback, women commonly carried their babies on their backs, inside their robes or blankets. The mother stood with her back bent, grasped the infant by both arms, swung it over her shoulders, then quickly drew her robe about her own body and that of the child. Blackfoot mothers nursed their babies until long after they were able to walk. Indeed, some mothers continued to nurse their children until they were five or six years old, believing this would prevent another pregnancy until their youngest child was old enough to look after himself.

Children were taught the elements of good manners and respect for their elders. They were expected to sit quietly while adults were talking in the tipi, to perform their chores promptly, to observe the taboos of the family medicine bundles, and to help the aged and show particular respect to them. They were taught to take teasing gracefully. But if a child of about their own age struck them, they were to fight back to the best of their ability.

The mother was responsible for the education of her daughters. The little girl began to learn about women's responsibilities by watching her mother and grandmothers at their tasks. She imitated their actions in her childhood play. She began to help her mother in such light tasks as picking berries, and graduated to the heavier work of digging roots and carrying firewood and water for the lodge. As the girl grew older, she received instructions in dressing hides, preparing foods, making clothing, and in the women's crafts of geometric painting, porcupine quillwork, and beadwork. A girl was expected to become proficient in these crafts before she married. At the annual sun dance mothers ex-

12: Hanks & Richardson E,P-5 (1938, 1939) 1966
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot

593 status was thereby elevated because of having received some sacred objects,
858 and, second, it was an oblique way of stating that one's father was wealthy,
554 hence a hard worker and a man of accomplishment. Further evidence for
paternal glorification may be seen in the almost monomanic anxiety over
597 being an adopted child. Any rebuff that a son might be given was frequently
593 the stimulus for morbid preoccupation over the reality of the blood relation-
[152] ship to the person he called father. In adopting a child, parents took elabor-
ate precautions to show even greater affection toward the adopted child
than toward their own in order to prevent this child from suspecting his
adoption. When a child or grown person discovered this fact, it was a trau-
593 matic experience from which recovery was slow and difficult. Further indi-
626 cation of the importance of the paternal rôle in the life of a male was the
universal comment made when a man deviated from acceptable behavior.
●[867] People said, "He did not listen to his father's words." This had direct refer-
ence to the series of moral lectures that every father was supposed to make
593 to his children. Another aspect was the concept of inheritance of personality
827 characteristics from the father. This was particularly true of males who were
supposed to inherit their father's courage in battle, memory for ritual,
generosity, or eccentricities. Females were thought to inherit more from
their mothers. On one occasion the question arose in a discussion with an
informant as to why certain individuals did not listen to the moral lectures
of their fathers. Our informant on this occasion stated that it was because
they had inherited this particular deafness to the paternal sermons from
their fathers who in turn had also not heeded the dicta of their fathers.

584 Certain prerogatives accorded the woman's family served to heighten the
importance of the mother's family. Foremost among these was the privilege
of the woman's parents to assume the initiative in soliciting marriage for
[581] their daughter. Indeed, it was frequent that a wealthy man picked a son-in-
[858] law who was poor but energetic with the aim of receiving his assistance in
the camp. We have statements to the effect that on this account daughters
were somewhat preferred to sons in that through them the circle of one's
585 followers and helpers could be more readily enlarged. Of conceivable sym-
[591] bolic importance was the fact that the woman's parents usually provided the
586 first tipi with its furnishings for the new son-in-law, for this suggests that in
the remote past the son-in-law was actually living matrilocally. Further-
more, a woman usually returned to the camp of her parents or brothers with
her unmarried children after the dissolution of a marriage. The husband
736 thereby lost whatever influence he may have had over the children. In the
[888] case of a woman whose husband died when she was too old for ready remar-
riage, her sons, by then economically self-sufficient, were expected to care
for her, and they would accord her the authority due an elderly person in
making important decisions.

861 some things, the parents would always tell them things like: "Don't go away from the tipi or the wolf will come and take you." They said: "Don't go around at night because that's when the ghosts are out and they will come for you." Things
855 like this kept the little kids right close to home. If the mother had to go somewhere on foot, she would carry along her toddler wrapped in a blanket and worn on her back. Compared to modern mothers, my grandmothers really indulged in their children. The kids grew up in the midst of the daily household, so they learned family values and customs naturally.

867 My grandmother told me the following story about her childhood:

"I was the youngest of my mother's children. She wanted us to grow old, so she encouraged us to follow her advice. She taught us from the start to respect old people. Because my father was a medicine man we had a lot of old people as visi-
867 tors. Sometimes my mother would give me a piece of meat
264 and tell me, 'Go ask that old lady to chew your food for you.'
888 This would be some special old lady—one with a lot of power to doctor or put up Sun Dances. She would chew my meat and then give it to me to swallow. This was a blessing
867 for me, just like getting part of her life. Whenever we had any spare change we were taught to give it to old people like that.

869 "Because a lot of holy people always came to visit my
784 father we were taught not to fool around near them. These people who have spiritual powers are required to follow a lot of rules. We were never allowed to pass in front of them, especially if they were smoking. These were the rules and we
302 never thought to question them. My father painted his chil-
782 dren and his grandchildren, and he prayed for them, so that no harm would come to them in case they passed in front of him accidentally or did something else against the rules.

"If the children of a household didn't behave then the mother or father might go and get some old man or old lady to come and give them a lecture. If the kids were still acting bad that old person would just pull out an awl and pierce their ears right then. That worked very well in teaching kids a lesson.

"In my young days all the kids had their ears pierced for earrings, anyway—boys and girls. Usually this was done by some old lady, when we were still babies. Round pieces of shell were the most popular kind of earring decoration among us Bloods."

Because we spend a lot of time with our elders, my kids have learned from the start to have respect. Even today we get old people in our home who have certain rules that must be followed around them. When our grandfather was around, for instance, everyone had to stay seated while he was eating his food. The kids enjoy having the old people around because they get to hear a lot of stories and songs. Some of the children's songs have silly sayings in them, such as: "Magpie, magpie, go before me and stab your bag by the door"; or "Gopher, gopher, with bouncing breasts; with bouncing breasts; with bouncing breasts."

Sometimes the old person gets the kids to play a game, like pinching the tops of each other's hands and holding on to them until there is a big pile of hands. The first one that lets go gets tickled from the rest. The songs are called lullaby songs, and mothers used to sing them to their babies to put them to sleep. Kind of a scary one had these words: "Wolf, wolf, come eat this baby that won't go to sleep."

Little kids used to be left to play together, and in the summer they often went naked. But as soon as they got old enough to know the difference between boys and girls, they were separated. From then on the girls were watched carefully by their mothers and aunts, and no boys were allowed

near them. If they did anything that might bring a bad name to the family they were punished quite severely—mostly by their own brothers.

Brothers and sisters were taught to respect each other from an early age. Girls were never allowed to dress improperly in front of their brothers. Some of these customs have gone on to the present time, I can tell you. I was the only girl in my family, and I had six brothers who watched over me. These customs sure caused me and some of my friends a lot of tears and heartaches—like when we had boy friends of whom our brothers didn't approve, or when we wanted to be in style and wear shorter skirts.

In the days when my grandmothers were little girls about the only toys they had were small replicas of the things their mothers worked with—small tipis and camping outfits, dolls and little cradleboards, and miniature tools for tanning and cooking food. They were told about the holy women who put up Sun Dances, with the hopes that they would learn to be honest, kind, and virtuous.

I have often heard that the old Indians sold their daughters. There is some truth to this, but mostly it is a misunderstanding of our customs. When a worthy young man married a respectable girl, both families exchanged presents. However, to win the approval of her parents, the young man first had to show her parents how generous he could be by sending them several fine horses and other property. Since the parents were losing a good household worker in the transaction, these valuables could be looked upon as a return on their investment of having raised the daughter to her prime. I imagine some parents thought of the matter in these terms—especially fathers who had a number of sons. Keep in mind that the daughter's marriage meant she would then be obligated to her husband and his family. Often her parents hardly saw her anymore after the marriage.

The way that a young man first gave notice of his desire for

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

Preface

As a child I lived far from the lands of the Blackfoot People. Yet my dreams often took me among these People. As I grew older I went to schools, studied American history, and became a schoolteacher. I wanted to relate to this land and its People, both past and present. So I finally traveled to the lands of the Blackfoot People to see if there was any truth to my childhood dreams. I met an old Blackfoot man who told me there was. 114 115

This old man was 116 years old when he finally passed away, a few years after I met him. He was the last Blackfoot warrior and buffalo hunter. I met him in time to receive his introduction to the Old People and their Old Ways.

From this first old man I was guided north into Canada to the land of the Bloods—a tribe of the Blackfoot Confederacy. These People became the relatives that I saw in my childhood dreams. They are the People of my children's mother. I am proud to be raising my children according to the ways of their ancestors. 114 123 [619]

Blackfoot ways of living in harmony with nature are traditionally passed on by Teachers who have, themselves, been initiated into those ways. Anyone may apply to such Teachers. The guidance varies according to the wisdom of each Teacher, as well as the sacrifices and devotions 114 967

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

made by each student. My family is fully devoted to this way of life. Our Teachers have passed much wisdom on to us, for us to live and grow with. Also for us to share. The ancient wisdoms are still with us only because they have been shared all along.

The actual writings in this book were mostly put down in 1972. Our Teachers were among the last wise ones of Blackfoot traditions. They felt that the ancient wisdoms should continue on, even though the young generations showed little interest in the required disciplines. The Old Ones accepted the arrival of this modern world, and they agreed that the time was right for making a permanent record, like this book, so that the future generations might yet benefit from the spiritual ways of their ancestors.

Two of our wisest Teachers were also relatives of our family. We traveled with them. We camped with them. We ate and prayed with them. We made incense and sang with them, many mornings and evenings, before going to sleep. The idea for this book originated with them, and grew because of their continuous faith and encouragement. Without the love and understanding of Willie Scraping White (Wolf Old Man) and Willie Eagle Plume (Prairie Owl Man) this book would not be.

[p. xiii-B]

[p. xiv is blank]

how to lead Medicine ceremonies. He also received many Teachings from his stepfather's friends and from his own neighbors, respected leaders like Sun Chief, Big Wolf, and Packs His Tail. The Old Man was one of the last of our People to know the Spirit of these ancient Teachings. For that reason he was happy to have me as "grandson" and student. It pleased him to know that many of those Teachings are now written down for people who are yet unborn. "I sometimes wonder," he told me, "why our Old People never learned to read and write their own languages, so that they could have passed on all their wonderful knowledge of the old-time world."

Wolf Old Man was noted among our People for his knowledge of herbs and his methods of doctoring. He was the last of our old-time doctors. However, it was his spiritual leadership of which he was most proud. He enjoyed telling about a recent incident that occurred while he was returning home from a holy ceremony held on the reservation of our Piegan division, in nearby Browning, Montana. It was Sunday evening, a time when some members of our reserve return home with U.S. spirits tucked under their car seats or stored in their stomachs. In Canada, liquor is not sold on Sundays. The car in which the Old Man was riding was filled with others who had gone to the ceremony. When they reached the Canadian customs office, the men in charge prepared to make their usual inspection. But when the chief inspector looked inside and saw the Old Man, he called out to his assistant, "It's alright, we don't have to check this one—he's the Indian Bishop!"

Some time before us, the Old Man had been Keeper of our Medicine Pipe Bundle for ten years. Most of the Teachings he passed on to us concern this Bundle. Although he was the oldest leader of Medicine Pipe ceremonies among our People, he never learned all the fifty-six songs that were sung during these ceremonies in the Old Days; his own Teacher, old Heavy Head, very slow and thorough, had passed away before finish-

ing his instructing. By that time the Old Man felt he was too old to begin studying under another Teacher, and decided to make the best of what he had already learned.

Other Teachings the Old Man gave to us include the Ways of our Sun Dance and our Nighttime ceremonies, as well as our traditional legends and some of the many true stories about the adventures of various people of the past.

For many years, the Old Man's chief function during our Sun Dances was that of Weather Dancer. He was given the rights and Teachings for this sacred duty by the former Weather Dancer, Crow Spreads His Wings, who was his brother. He gave the position up to the present Weather Dancer, Mark Old Shoes, who was informed through a dream that he would grow old if he accepted this duty. When I sought to fulfill a personal vow to take over the duties of a Weather Dancer, it was necessary for me to consider Old Shoe's conditional assurance of his old age. I did not wish to break the spiritual strength of this dream nor cause him any sudden anxiety about the span of his life. So I recently became

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 15A]

Lp. 14-A]

Weather Dancer among the South Piegan division of our People. Weather Dancers from various divisions often join together for Sun Dances. 123 [793]

Another of the Old Man's spiritual duties was to serve as advisor to the Horns Society. Among our People he was considered to have the greatest knowledge of the society's songs and ceremonies, having held seven different memberships in the society, including that of leader. The recent transfer was the tenth for which he had served as advisor. In his younger days, the Old Man also belonged to the now-extinct Brave Dogs and Pigeons societies. 793 575 561

As always, it was an honor to have the Old Man visit our home. His presence inspired us with the knowledge that it was still possible to find spiritual satisfaction with many of our Old Ways in this modern age. The strength of his old age let us find Power in his Teachings. With each visit he gave us more of his Good Spirits. 574 123

We sat in silence for a few moments after the Old Man settled next to me. It is not proper to ply a guest with many questions as soon as he arrives; nor does a guest usually begin a lengthy conversation until he has learned what mood is current in the lodge he has just entered. During that period of silence, SikskiAki came in, followed by Mokakin. As an old *Ninamskan*, or Pipe Man, he was given the second place of honor in the tipi, to the left of the Old Man. 576 574

Mokakin is learning to carry out two of the Old Man's duties. During his past memberships with the Horns he became acquainted with many of that society's functions, and is now looked upon as an advisor by the new members. In addition, Mokakin is a successful doctor of several minor physical ailments. He was given, in dreams this Power and shown the plants to use while he was sleeping near some old open-air burials in a secluded part of the reserve. His dreams came unexpectedly, while sleeping alone during a winter-time trapping expedition. 575 561 [867] 759 [787]

While SikskiAki served lunch to our three 778 574

[p. 15-A]

guests, the two Horns advisors discussed business. 778
Albert Wolf Child took part in the conversation, 574
since he is a former member of the Horns and is
sometimes called on for advice. During this time I
filled my smoking pipe and in my mind rehearsed
the songs for our sacred Bundle. It is a tradition [867]
for a Medicine Pipe Owner to invite one or more [533]
former Owners for a meal and to offer them a
smoke. They, in turn, will pray for the present
Owner and his family, and will sing some of the
Bundle's songs. Before the coming of tape re-
corders, this was the only way such songs could be
learned. Many songs were lost between the years
when the People stopped camping by each other
and when songs could finally be recorded. Even
now, few people will take the time to listen to
these songs as often as it takes to learn them.

I asked the Old Man to sing one song, mean- 533
ing one set of seven songs. Many of our holy songs
are sung in sets of seven, although no one seems to
remember why. I could have asked the Old Man
to sing more than one set, but I realized he had
plenty of singing to do in his affairs with the
Horns.

SikskiAki placed a hot coal in the center of 782
our altar, while I took a pinch of sweet pine 778
needles and held them with the thumb and first 533
finger of my right hand. The Old Man took
that hand in his and held it high above the smol-
dering coal. He said a prayer of thanks to the
Holy Powers that brought us together. Then he
prayed for good thoughts and long life for all of
us and asked our holy Pipe to inspire my family to
live a straight life. He thanked the Pipe's Powers
for being with him for so many years and with us
now. Then he began to sing: "The Above . . . it
is holy . . . the earth . . . it is holy!"

He lowered my hand during the singing, let- 533
ting the sweet pine fall on the hot coal, making 778
the incense. While chanting, we all reached out
our hands toward the sacred smoke and rubbed it
on our arms and over our bodies from our heads
down. Each song consisted mostly of chanting

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

Meet the Old People of Today

SikskiAki and I asked a few of the Old People living on the Blood Reserve to comment on the past, present, and future of our Old Ways. Most people on the Blood Reserve have at least some respect for their traditions and for those who are still trying to follow them. Nevertheless, few know how the Old Ways really were. Most of our People today were taken from their parents and placed in boarding schools at an age when their minds were forming permanent patterns. In the schools, their contacts with the Old Ways, both spiritual and physical, were always discouraged and sometimes forcibly severed. By the time they left the schools, the children had been taught to judge life according to the standards set by white society, standards that were meaningless to their parents who lived simple, natural, spiritual lives. This forced-separation of children from their families and culture continued until just a few years ago, but it had already broken the Spirit of our Old Ways in the daily lives of our People.

OUR HEAD CHIEF, JIM SHOT-ON-BOTH-SIDES

My father had the Long-Time Medicine Pipe for many years. He taught me to treat our home like

[p.332-A]

25: Ewers E,G-5 (1941-1951) 1963 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

BLACKFOOT INDIAN PIPES AND PIPEMAKING

By John C. Ewers

INTRODUCTION

The smoking of tobacco pipes played roles of importance in the religious, political, and social life of the historic Blackfoot Indians. Pipe smoking was an integral part of the involved ritual of opening sacred ceremonial bundles. It was an invariable part of the act of making peace with enemy tribes. In the early years of the fur trade Blackfoot chiefs smoked with white traders when they visited their posts before the exchange of goods began. An Indian whose word was doubted might solemnly swear by the pipe that his testimony was true. It was a common custom for a man seeking a favor of another Indian of his tribe to present him with a pipe at the time of making his request. If the pipe was accepted, he knew that his request would be acted upon favorably; if it was refused, he knew that it was denied.

Blackfoot etiquette called for the tipi owner to offer a pipe to male visitors to his lodge. However, my older informants of the 1940's stated that in their youth there were marked individual differences in the interest men took in smoking for pleasure. Some men rarely smoked except during their participation in ceremonies. Others spent a great deal of their leisure time puffing on their pipes. Most boys started to smoke when they reached their middle teens and began to join war parties. No ceremony was involved in a boy's taking his first smoke. He merely followed the actions he had so often seen his elders perform.

Strong arguments were used to discourage young men from smoking too much, as are indicated by the following Blackfoot sayings:

> A young man who smokes too much has no wind.
> If you smoke too much it will hurt your eyes.
> The man who likes to smoke too much is the man who will draw the enemy when he is on a war party. The enemy will smell the smoke and be attracted to his location. Wild game will smell the smoke and will avoid the place where he is.

Girls did not smoke. But young married women learned to smoke when they attended ceremonies with their husbands. Older women usually were the only ones of their sex who smoked for pleasure.